

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
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AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 104822

LIMDIS;CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: RH, UK, PDEV

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: OWEN/VANCE SALISBURY MEETING WITH THE
EXECUTIVE COUNCIL APRIL 17

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1. THE FOLLOWING IS EXTENDED REPORT ON SUBJECT
MEETING, SUMMARY OF WHICH POSTS RECEIVED IN SECTO
04096, WHICH IS PROVIDED TO POSTS FOR FUTURE REFERENCE.

2. THE MEETING BEGAN AT 10:00 A.M. IN THE SALISBURY
PUBLIC SERVICE TRAINING CENTER, THE VENUE OF THE
DISCUSSIONS AMONG SMITH, MUZOREWA, SITHOLE AND
CHIRAU WHICH LED TO THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT. IN
ADDITION TO THE FOUR MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL
(EC) THE SALISBURY GROUP INCLUDED CHIEF NDEWENI,

JAMES CHIKEREMA, DAVID SMITH, DR. ELLIOT GABELLAH AND P.K. VAN DER BYL, AS WELL AS SEVERAL CIVIL SERVANTS (GAYLARD, GEORGE SMITH AND OTHERS). THE ANGLO-AMERICAN SIDE WAS LED BY SECRETARIES VANCE AND OWEN ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR YOUNG, LOW, LAKE, EDMONDSON AND OTHERS FOR THE US, AS WELL AS LORD CARVER, GRAHAM, STEELE AND OTHERS FOR THE BRITISH.

3. SMITH OPENED THE MEETING BY WELCOMING THE VISITORS AND NOTING THAT SINCE 1960 SUCCESSIVE ATTEMPTS BY

THE BRITISH AND RHODESIAN GOVERNMENTS TO SETTLE THE RHODESIAN QUESTION HAD FAILED. THE ONLY PROGRESS THAT HAD BEEN MADE IN THAT TIME HAD BEEN PRODUCED BY THE INTERNAL BLACK AND WHITE LEADERS WITHIN RHODESIA, WHO HAD ACHIEVED MORE THAN EITHER THEMSELVES OR MANY OTHERS HAD ANTICIPATED. SMITH STATED THAT HE HOPED THE MEETING WOULD BE A CONSTRUCTIVE ONE AND WOULD ASSIST IN BRINGING PEACE TO RHODESIA.

4. OWEN THANKED SMITH AND EXPLAINED THAT THE ANGLO-AMERICAN SIDE VIEWS ITS ROLE AS TRYING TO ASSIST IN PROGRESS BY BRINGING PEOPLE TOGETHER. AN ATTEMPT
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SHOULD BE MADE TO WIDEN EXISTING AREAS OF AGREEMENT. ALREADY ALL PARTIES AGREED THAT THERE SHOULD BE INDEPENDENCE, TRANSFER OF POWER, AND FULL AND FREE ELECTIONS BASED ON UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE. IT IS IMPORTANT TO OBTAIN A CEASEFIRE. IN REVIEWING THE SITUATION, PRESIDENT CARTER, SECRETARY VANCE AND HIMSELF HAD DETERMINED THAT THE BEST WAY TO MAKE PROGRESS WAS THROUGH A ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE. HE WAS NOT ASKING FOR A DEFINITIVE DECISION IMMEDIATELY ON RHODESIAN PARTICIPATION IN SUCH A CONFERENCE. HE ASSERTED, HOWEVER, IN WHAT WOULD BECOME A RECURRING THEME IN HIS AND SECRETARY VANCE'S PRESENTATION THROUGHOUT THE DAY, THAT THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE IN SUCH TALKS WOULD RAISE THE LEVEL OF ITS INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTABILITY BY PROMOTING AN IMAGE OF OPENNESS TO SERIOUS NEGOTIATION.

5. SECRETARY VANCE EXPRESSED AGREEMENT WITH OWEN'S COMMENTS, EMPHASIZING THE SIGNIFICANT POSITIVE BENEFITS, SUCH AS THE LIFTING OF SANCTIONS, WHICH WOULD FLOW FROM AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT. IT WOULD BE TRAGIC IF FIGHTING CONTINUED, AND CUBANS AND SOVIETS ATTEMPTED TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE SITUATION.

6. IN RESPONSE TO SMITH'S REQUEST FOR A READOUT ON THE DAR ES SALAAM MEETING WITH THE PF, OWEN NOTED

THAT THE UK/US TEAM DID NOT COME TO SALISBURY WITH A PACKAGE OF MEASURES ALREADY AGREED TO BY THE PF. HOWEVER, THERE HAD BEEN TWO AREAS OF PROGRESS IN DAR. THE PF HAD ACCEPTED THAT A NEUTRAL ADMINISTRATOR SHOULD HOLD EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY OVER LAW AND ORDER AND DEFENSE DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD. THE PF HAD ALSO ACCEPTED A ROLE FOR THE UNITED NATIONS IN SUPERVISING THE CEASEFIRE. OWEN NOTED THAT IT IS CLEAR THAT BOTH EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL PARTIES AGREED
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THAT THERE SHOULD BE A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNING

COUNCIL WITH CABINET MINISTERS WHO WOULD EXERCISE GREATER LEGISLATIVE AND EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY THAN HAD BEEN INITIALLY CONTEMPLATED WHEN THE AAP WAS PRESENTED. OWEN NOTED THAT THE PF HAD ACCEPTED THE IDEA OF A ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE. HE ALSO POINTED OUT THE AREAS OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE PF AND THE UK/US, NOTING THAT IN DAR THE ANGLO-AMERICAN SIDE HAD REJECTED THE PF'S DEMANDS FOR DOMINANCE IN THE GOVERNING COUNCIL AND TO INTEGRATE THEIR PEOPLE INTO THE POLICE FORCE DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD. OWEN NOTED THAT THE UK/US WOULD NOT CHOOSE AMONG THE COMPETING PARTIES. WE WOULD STICK BY THE AAP, BUT BE OPEN TO ALTERNATIVE ARRANGEMENTS, IF AGREED TO BY ALL THE CONTENDING PARTIES. WE HAD NOT CONDEMNED THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT, ALTHOUGH THERE HAD BEEN GREAT PRESSURE TO DO SO, BUT WE WOULD WORK WITH THE POSITIVE AREAS OF THAT SETTLEMENT AND BUILD UPON IT.

7. SECRETARY VANCE SAID THAT WITHOUT DISCUSSIONS AMONG ALL THE PARTIES, SUCH AS THAT CONTEMPLATED AT A ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE, ANY SETTLEMENT WOULD NOT BE SEEN AS A FAIR ONE AND WOULD NOT GAIN INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTABILITY.

8. NOTING THAT PREVIOUS CONFERENCES SUCH AS GENEVA HAD NOT BEEN SUCCESSFUL, SMITH ASKED WHY RHODESIA SHOULD DEVIATE FROM THE COURSE IT HAS EMBARKED UPON TO TRY A NEW TRACK WHICH IS LIKELY TO FAIL. HE ARGUED THAT RHODESIA WOULD WELCOME OUTSIDE OBSERVERS-- FROM THE US, THE UK, THE UN, OR WHEREVER--TO OBSERVE THE ELECTORAL PROCESS AND TO ENSURE THAT IT WOULD BE
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FREE AND FAIR. HE SAID THAT THE PF WANT TO AVOID THE BALLOT BOX AND OVERCOME THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE BY CONTROLLING THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT. THE NEUTRALITY OF THE GOVERNMENT UNDER THE EC IS DEMONSTRABLE

BY THE FACT THAT TWO MINISTERS, ONE BLACK AND ONE WHITE, WERE IN CHARGE OF EACH MINISTRY.

9. SECRETARY VANCE RESPONDED THAT BECAUSE CONFERENCES IN THE PAST HAD NOT BEEN SUCCESSFUL, DOES NOT NECESSARILY MEAN A FURTHER ATTEMPT WOULD HAVE THE SAME RESULT. FURTHERMORE, HE REPEATED, IT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT TO ACHIEVE NECESSARY INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR A SETTLEMENT WITHOUT AN ATTEMPT TO BRING ALL THE RELEVANT PARTIES TOGETHER TO DISCUSS ISSUES.

10. MUZOREWA SAID THAT IN MALTA THE BRITISH AND AMERICANS HAD ONLY MET WITH THE PF. THEREFORE, WHY

IS IT NECESSARY TO HAVE AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING NOW, HE ASKED. OWEN ANSWERED THAT THE MALTA MEETING HAD BEEN BILATERAL AND PART OF THE CONTINUING PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION AMONG ALL PARTIES. OWEN THEN

NOTED THE GREAT DANGER OF THE FIGHTING DEVELOPING INTO A CIVIL WAR. THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL NATIONALISTS HAVE UNTIL NOW BEEN POLITICAL ONES. HOWEVER, IF FIGHTING CONTINUES, A THRESHHOLD WOULD BE CROSSED AFTER WHICH IT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT TO CONTINUE NEGOTIATIONS. OWEN ALSO NOTED , AS HE HAD ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS IN DAR, THAT NEGOTIATIONS MIGHT NOW BE EASIER AS THERE WERE ONLY TWO PARTIES (THE EC AND THE PF) RATHER THAN FIVE, AS IN GENEVA.

11. MUZOREWA ASKED IF IT WAS EXPECTED THAT THE SALISBURY GROUP WOULD BE BOUND BY WHAT HAD COME OUT CONFIDENTIAL

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OF MALTA. OWEN RESPONDED THAT THIS WAS NOT THE EXPECTATION.

12. AMBASSADOR YOUNG SAID THAT THE UK/US HAVE TWO MAJOR OBJECTIVES: TO BRING ABOUT A CEASEFIRE AND TO HOLD FAIR AND FREE ELECTIONS. IN PURSUIT OF THESE OBJECTIVES PRESIDENT CARTER AND SECRETARIES VANCE AND OWEN HAD TRIED TO SIGN UP THE FRONT LINE AND NIGERIA TO RESPECT THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTION AND TO NOT ALLOW THEIR TERRITORIES TO BE USED BY THOSE WHO WOULD WISH TO OVERTHROW THE ELECTION RESULTS. AMBASSADOR YOUNG NOTED THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO KEEP THE DIALOGUE OPEN AND TO MAINTAIN THE SUPPORT OF AFRICA FOR A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. FAILURE TO DO SO WOULD MAKE IT EASIER FOR OTHER FORCES TO BRING IN OUTSIDE HELP AND MAKE "A BIGGER MESS" OF RHODESIA. OWEN ADDED,IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION FROM DAVID SMITH,THAT WHILE SUCH A GUARANTEE COULD NOT BE

WRITTEN IN STONE HE WAS CONVINCED THAT THE FRONT LINE STATES DID NOT WANT OUTSIDE INTERVENTION AND WOULD NOT SUSTAIN ATTEMPTS TO OVERTHROW THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTION. A UN PRESENCE COULD BE VERY HELPFUL IN ENSURING THAT THIS WOULD BE THE CASE. AFRICAN SUPPORT FOR THE PRINCIPLE OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY WOULD ALSO BE A FACTOR LIMITING FURTHER CONFLICT. AMBASSADOR YOUNG NOTED THAT THE FRONT LINE STATES WERE TIRED OF FIGHTING AND WERE LOOKING FOR A WAY TO STOP THE VIOLENCE.

13. SITHOLE THEN BEGAN WHAT WAS TO BE ONE OF MANY

LENGTHY INTERVENTIONS DURING THE MEETINGS. HE ARGUED THAT THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT IS NOW A FACT, CONFIDENTIAL

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THAT OPINIONS OF THE OUTSIDE WORLD WERE LESS IMPORTANT THAN THOSE OF THE PEOPLE OF RHODESIA, WHO OVERWHELMINGLY SUPPORTED THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. EC ATTENDANCE AT AN ALL PARTIES MEETING WOULD UNDERMINE THE CONFIDENCE OF THE PEOPLE IN THEIR LEADERS AND WOULD SLOW DOWN IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENT WHICH HAS ALREADY BEGUN. HE NOTED THAT DETAINEES HAD BEEN RELEASED, PROTECTED VILLAGES DISMANTLED AND ATTEMPTS WERE BEING MADE TO BRING ABOUT A CEASEFIRE. SITHOLE MADE CONSIDERABLE REFERENCE TO HIS EXTENSIVE CONTACT WITH GUERRILLA FIELD COMMANDERS HO, HE ARGUED, WERE PREPARED TO ACCEPT THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT AND LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS ONCE PROCEDURES COULD BE IMPLEMENTED GUARANTEEING THEM SAFE RETURN.

14. IN FURTHER ARGUING FOR ACCEPTANCE FOR THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT MUZOREWA STATED THAT KUANDA WAS NOT BEING HONEST. HE POINTED OUT THAT KUANDA HAD SUPPORTED NKOMO WHEN THE LATTER HAD ENGAGED IN DIRECT TALKS WITH SMITH AND HAD SAID AT THAT TIME THAT, IF NKOMO SUCCEEDED, THOSE OUTSIDE WOULD BE IRRELEVANT. IF HE FAILED, THE OTHERS, AMONG WHOM THE BISHOP WAS ONE, WOULD BE RELEVANT.

15. ARGUING AGAIN FOR A CONFERENCE WHICH WOULD WIDEN THE AREA OF AGREEMENT, OWEN NOTED THAT THE UK WOULD STAND BEHIND ITS PRINCIPLES, PARTICULARLY THE FIFTH PRINCIPLE CONCERNING ACCEPTABILITY OF AN AGREEMENT TO THE RHODESIAN MAJORITY. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE EC SAID IT WANTED FAIR AND FREE ELECTIONS BY DEC. 31. HOWEVER, IT WOULD BE BETTER IF THE UK/US WERE ABLE TO HELP GET INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS FOR ELECTIONS, WHICH WOULD LEAD TO AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT. NEVERTHELESS, OWEN NOTED, "WE WILL STAND BY THE DEMOCRATIC DECISION OF THE PEOPLE

OF RHODESIA EVEN IF THE WORLD COMMUNITY DOES NOT."

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16. SPEAKING IN SHONA, WHICH HIS RELATIVE AND FELLOW ZEZURU CHIKEREMA TRANSLATED, CHIEF CHIRAU LECTURED THAT THE UK/US DUTY IS TO STOP THE FRONT LINE STATES FROM INTERFERING IN RHODESIAN AFFAIRS. HE ARGUED THAT WHILE IN THE PAST THE UK/US STATED THAT NO PARTY HAD A VETO, IT IS NOW CLEAR THAT THE PF AND THE FRONT LINE STATES HAVE BEEN GRANTED ONE. HE ADDED THAT THE UK/US ARE NOW DEALING WITH THE GOVERNMENT, NOT INDIVIDUAL PARTIES.

17. SITHOLE THEN PRODUCED A LENGTHY DOCUMENT COMPARING THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT AND THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS IN 19 AREAS WHICH FOUND THAT THE TWO APPROACHES WERE REMARKABLY CONGRUENT. (BOTH OPTED FOR A REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT OVER MONARCHY, MAJORITY RULE OVER MINORITY RULE, ETC.) HE ARGUED THAT "THE DOORS ARE OPEN TO THOSE OUTSIDE TO INVOLVE THEMSELVES IN POLITICS LIKE ANYONE ELSE."

18. IN RESPONSE TO CHIRAU, VANCE NOTED THAT THE US HAS NOT ENDORSED ANY PARTY, THAT WE SEEK TO BRING ALL PARTIES TOGETHER, AND THAT WE ARE NOT ASKING THAT THE SALISBURY GROUP GIVE UP THEIR POSITION IN ORDER TO SIT DOWN WITH THE OTHERS. IN RESPONSE TO SITHOLE, VANCE AGREED THAT THERE WERE A NUMBER OF ELEMENTS IN COMMON BETWEEN THE AAP AND THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT. HOWEVER, THERE WERE SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES AS WELL.

19. OWEN ALSO NOTED THAT THERE WERE IMPORTANT AREAS OF AGREEMENT, BUT WHAT REMAINED MOST IMPORTANT WAS TO GET INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTANCE FOR A SETTLEMENT
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WHICH COULD BRING THE LIFTING OF SANCTIONS ON TRANSITION DAY. INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTABILITY WOULD ONLY COME ABOUT WHEN THE WORLD WAS CONVINCED THAT AN IRREVERSIBLE TRANSITION HAD BEGUN. OWEN SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN ASKED IF HE WOULD ACCEPT ELECTION RESULTS IF THE ELECTION TOOK PLACE IN A SITUATION OF ARMED CONFLICT. HE NOTED THAT, AS HE HAD SAID IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, YOU CANNOT GIVE A VETO TO PEOPLE WHO WISH TO CONTINUE TO FIGHT." HOWEVER, HE ADDED THAT THE IMPORTANT TASK WAS TO OBTAIN A CEASEFIRE AND THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE UN, BOTH OF WHICH WOULD BE PREDICATED UPON A SETTLEMENT INVOLVING ALL OF THE NATIONALIST LEADERS: "WE ARE NOT

TRYING TO KNOCK DOWN WHAT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED IN SALISBURY - WE ARE TRYING TO BUILD ON IT."

20. AMBASSADOR YOUNG ASSERTED THAT IF A SETTLEMENT HAD INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTABILITY THE US COULD SUPPORT IT ECONOMICALLY, MILITARILY AND IN OTHER WAYS. THE PF THINKS IT COULD WIN BY MEANS OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS. WE MUST BUILD ON THAT PERCEPTION. THE PROBLEM COULD NOT BE SOLVED MILITARILY EITHER BY THE PF OR BY THE EC AND RATHER THAN WAIT THROUGH SEVERAL MORE YEARS OF VIOLENCE IT WOULD BE TO EVERYONE'S ADVANTAGE TO ENTER INTO FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS. YOUNG ATTEMPTED TO DEFLECT SITHOLE'S REPEATED DEMANDS TO SPELL OUT PRECISELY WHAT WAS WRONG WITH THE TERMS OF THE

INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. FINALLY HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT SEPARATE VOTING ROLES WERE UNSATISFACTORY. MUZOREWA IMMEDIATELY INTERJECTED THAT A SEPARATE ROLE WAS NEEDED TO FOSTER WHITE CONFIDENCE AND TO ENCOURAGE WHITES TO STAY.

21. DAVID SMITH ASKED YOUNG WHAT THE PF WAS FIGHTING FOR, NOW THAT MAJORITY RULE HAD BEEN ATTAINED. YOUNG CONFIDENTIAL

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RESPONDED THAT THE PF MAKES NO BONES ABOUT THE FACT THAT THEY ARE FIGHTING FOR PERSONAL POWER. ONLY OUR EFFORTS THROUGH THE FRONT LINE HAVE FORCED THEM INTO A SYSTEM OF PRINCIPLE. HE THEN NOTED THAT THIS WAS A RATHER HARSH POLITICAL JUDGMENT, THAT SOME OF THE PF WERE MEN OF STRONG IDEALS, MANY OF WHOM HAD SPENT LONG YEARS IN PRISON. NKOMO IS PARTICULARLY WILLING TO SUBMIT TO THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE BECAUSE HIS POLITICAL ANALYSIS IS THAT THIS IS AS GOOD TIME AS ANY TO DO SO. MUGABE IS LESS INCLINED, FEELING THAT TIME IS ON HIS SIDE. OWEN NOTED HIS DISAGREEMENT WITH MUGABE'S DESIRE TO SEE CREATED A ONE-PARTY STATE IN RHODESIA. HE POINTED OUT, HOWEVER, THAT EVEN MUGABE HAD SAID HE WOULD NOT TRY TO IMPOSE SUCH A SYSTEM.

22. DR. GABELLAH ARGUED THAT IT WOULD NOT BE PRACTICABLE FOR THE EC TO DEVIATE FROM ITS IMPORTANT JOB OF IMPLEMENTING THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT BY RUNNING FROM PLACE TO PLACE FOR NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PF. NKOMO AND MUGABE ARE WELCOME TO COME BACK TO SALISBURY, "THEY CAN BE ADMITTED IN HERE."

23. SECRETARY VANCE NOTED THAT THE VENUE OF THE ROUND TABLE MEETING WAS OPEN FOR DISCUSSION. HOWEVER, IF PRECONDITIONS WERE SET IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE TO GET THE PF TO ATTEND. SMITH STATED THAT THE UK/US MUST CONVINCE THE EC THAT SUCH MEETING WOULD BE CONSTRUCTIVE AND

WOULD NOT BREAK DOWN WHAT HAD ALREADY BEEN ACCOMPLISHED.

24. MUZOREWA ASKED HOW THE US/UK WOULD INTEND TO PREVENT A CIVIL WAR BETWEEN ZAPU/ZANU. OWEN ACKNOWLEDGED THAT IT WAS A DIFFICULT PROBLEM, BUT ONE IN WHICH A UN PRESENCE COULD HELP IN THE INTEGRATION OF ALL THE CONFIDENTIAL

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CURRENT ARMIES INTO ONE FORCE LOYAL TO THE NEWLY ELECTED GOVERNMENT.

25. EXPANDING ON THE THEME OF ZAPU/ZANU SPLIT, CHIKEREMA NOTED THAT EVEN WITHIN EACH OF THOSE ORGANIZATIONS THERE WERE GREAT DIVISIONS. NKOMO AND KAUNDA HAD JUST DETAINED 2,000 TRAINED ZAPU/ZANU GUERRILLAS IN ZAMBIA WHO HAD SAID THEY HAD NOTHING MORE TO FIGHT FOR. OWEN NOTED THAT THE

EC ITSELF REPRESENTED THE POSSIBILITIES OF RECONCILIATION AMONG CONFLICTING PARTIES. VANCE REITERATED IMPORTANCE OF INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTABILITY, NOTING ONCE AGAIN THE POSITIVE BENEFITS, INCLUDING DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE, WHICH COULD BE MADE AVAILABLE TO THE NEW GOVERNMENT. THE MORNING SESSION ENDED AT 12:30.

26. THE MEETINGS RESUMED AFTER LUNCH AND CONTINUED FOR TWO AND ONE-HALF HOURS MORE IN THE AFTERNOON. FEW NEW TOPICS WERE RAISED AND THE SESSION SAW A REPETITION OF POSITIONS ON BOTH SIDES.

27. SMITH ASKED WHAT COULD BE MORE REASONABLE THAN OFFERING THOSE OUTSIDE TO COME TO SALISBURY TO PARTICIPATE IN THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. VANCE RESPONDED THAT THIS WOULD BE LESS LIKELY TO PRODUCE SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS THAN WOULD A ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE. OWEN SAID THAT TO NEGLECT A CHANCE TO WIDEN THE AREAS OF AGREEMENT WOULD DRIVE THE PF AWAY FROM NEGOTIATIONS INTO GREATER CONFLICT AND WOULD HAVE PROFOUND INFLUENCE UPON THE ATTITUDE OF THEIR SUPPORTERS. BOTH SECRETARIES NOTED THAT THE UK/US WOULD BE PREPARED TO ACKNOWLEDGE PF INTRANSIGENCE, IF THAT WERE THE CASE. OWEN ALSO NOTED THAT WHILE NEGOTIATIONS WERE ON, THE EC WOULD BE MAKING CHANGES IN RHODESIA AND MOVING TOWARD ITS DECEMBER 31 DEADLINE.

28. OWEN ONCE AGAIN POINTED TO THE ADVANTAGES OF A CONFIDENTIAL

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SETTLEMENT WITH UN PARTICIPATION, NOTING THAT SUCH INVOLVEMENT WOULD MOST LIKELY DEVELOP OUT OF NEGOTIATIONS INVOLVING ALL OF THE PARTIES.

29. SMITH ASKED IF THE ONLY WAY OF GETTING SANCTIONS LIFTED WOULD BE BY BRINGING IN UN. IN 1976 KISSINGER HAD BEEN PREPARED TO LIFT SANCTIONS. YOUNG SAID THAT HE COULD NOT IMAGINE HOW SANCTIONS COULD BE LIFTED WITHOUT UN PARTICIPATION IN THE SETTLEMENT. OWEN SAID THAT UN INVOLVEMENT WOULD NOT BE ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY, BUT THE MORE INVOLVED THE UN BECAME, THE EASIER IT WOULD BE TO GET SANCTIONS LIFTED.

30. VAN DER BYL ARGUED THAT SANCTIONS COULD BE LIFTED BY UNILATERAL US/UK ACTIONS. HE POINTED TO THE BYRD AMENDMENT AS AN EXAMPLE AND NOTED THAT EVERY NOVEMBER SANCTIONS HAD TO BE REENDORSED BY THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT. SECRETARY VANCE IMMEDIATELY SAID THAT BYRD HAD BEEN REPEATED BECAUSE IT PLACED THE US IN VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. VAN DER BYL ASSERTED THAT THE US WAS NO LONGER CONCERNED WITH WHAT WAS RIGHT OR WRONG, BUT WAS SIMPLY TRYING TO INGRATIATE ITSELF WITH THE THIRD

WORLD. AMBASSADOR YOUNG EXPLAINED THAT CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S GOAL IS TO REUNITE THE REST OF THE WORLD WITH THE US AND PREVENT IT FROM TURNING TO THE COMMUNIST CAMP. OUR GOALS IN NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA HAVE BEEN TO FIND DIPLOMATIC SOLUTIONS, COOPERATING WITH THE UN, IN ORDER TO NEUTRALIZE THE RUSSIANS. OWEN NOTED THAT THE UK HAD AN OBLIGATION TO ARGUE IN THE UN FOR THE LIFTING OF SANCTIONS ONCE IT IS CONVINCED ON THE PRIOR ISSUE OF LEGALITY OF THE NEW REGIME. THE DECISION ON LEGALITY WOULD BE BASED UPON WHETHER THE RHODESIAN PEOPLE HAD CONFIDENTIAL

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DEMONSTRATED THEIR SUPPORT IN FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS. VANCE ARGUED THAT ALL WANT TO SEE VIOLENCE ENDED THROUGH A CEASEFIRE AND THAT UN INVOLVEMENT WOULD HELP DISMANTLE THE OUTSIDE CAMPS THAT FEED THE CONFLICT.

31. CHIKEREMA ASKED WHAT WOULD THE US/UK ATTITUDE BE IF A TEST OF ACCEPTABILITY TOOK PLACE IN FORM OF A REFERENDUM BEFORE DECEMBER 31. OWEN RESPONDED THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WOULD MAKE THAT JUDGMENT AT THE TIME ON THE IRREVERSIBLE NATURE OF THE TRANSITION. THE UK COULD NOT MAKE A DECISION BEFORE A TRANSFER OF POWER.

32. SITHOLE REPEATED MANY OF THE POINTS MADE IN THE MORNING SESSION ABOUT HIS EXTENSIVE CONTACTS WITH THE GUERRILLA LEADERS, WHICH OBIVIATED THE NEED FOR UN SUPERVISION OF A CEASEFIRE. HOWEVER, A UN PRESENCE WAS ACCEPTABLE TO OBSERVE THAT EVERYONE WOULD BE TREATED FAIRLY IN THE ELECTIONS.

33. OWEN NOTED THAT THE WE WERE NOT ASKING THE EC TO STOP THE ELECTION PROCESS. "WE ACTUALLY BELIEVE YOU

COULD DO IT BEFORE DECEMBER 31. YOU SHOULD GET AHEAD AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE MOMENT., OWEN THEN MADE A SPECIAL PLEA TO THE EC NOT TO TAKE FIGHTING INTO NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES AS THIS WOULD MOST JEOPARDIZE CHANCES OF GETTING AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT.

34. LORD CARVER REPEATED AN ARGUMENT WHICH SITHOLE HAD MADE TO HIM LAST NOVEMBER THAT THE GUERRILLAS COULD NOT LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS UNLESS ASSURED THAT THEY WILL NOT BE PERSECUTED. THE PURPOSE OF UN INVOLVEMENT IN THE CEASEFIRE IS TO GIVE BOTH SIDES CONFIDENCE.

35. SITHOLE ASKED IF THE UK/US WAS PREPARED TO
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LEAVE BEHIND A TEAM TO MEET WITH GUERRILLA LEADERS, WHOM, HE CONTENDED, ALREADY SUPPORTED THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. LATER IN THE CONVERSATION, OWEN AGREED

TO LEAVE BEHIND A MEMBER OF LORD CARVER'S STAFF TO
'DISCUSS SOME OF THESE ISSUES.'

36. GABELLAH URGED THE UK/US TO LEAVE "A LINK-MAN" IN SALISBURY -- NOT A CARETAKER, BUT A FULL REPRESENTATIVE - WHO COULD AT LEAST PROVIDE THE UK/US WITH MORE INFORMATION. OWEN RESPONDED THAT HE WAS PREPARED TO CONSIDER THIS IF IT WERE CLEAR THAT WE WERE WORKING TOWARD A ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

37. AFTER TEA BREAK, OWEN SUGGESTED THAT THE PARTIES CONSIDER WHAT HAD BEEN DISCUSSED. HE OFFERED TO HAVE FURTHER CONSULTATIONS ON THE MECHANICS OF A ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE. THE CONFERENCE ITSELF COULD BE HELD IN MAY. VANCE ADDED THAT OUR GOAL REMAINS A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE RHODESIAN CRISIS WITH FIGHTING PERMANENTLY STOPPED. SUCH A DEVELOPMENT WOULD ALLOW US TO ASSIST RHODESIA IN ITS PEACEFUL DEVELOPMENT.

38. VAN DER BYL NOTED THAT "WE COULD END UP LIKE THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE IN SPITE OF ALL THE THINGS YOU HAVE SUGGESTED., TO WHICH VANCE RETORTED THAT RHODESIA COULD ALSO END UP WITH A CONTINUING STRUGGLE AND THE INTRODUCTION OF EXTERNAL FORCES, IF IT DID NOT ATTEMPT TO FIND AN INTENATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT.

39. SMITH SAID THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THAT IN THE EYES OF THE REST OF THE WORLD RHODESIAN PARTICIPATION IN
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A ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE WOULD SERVE THE INTERESTS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL. HOWEVER, HE ALSO STATED THAT MORALE AND CONFIDENCE OF THE RHODESIAN PEOPLE HAD TO BE MAINTAINED, AND THAT FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PF WOULD SEEM TO UNDERCUT THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT, LESSENING THAT CONFIDENCE. HE CONCLUDED BY STATING THAT THE EC WOULD GIVE THE CONFERENCE IDEA "MATURE CONSIDERATION," AND WOULD ARRIVE AT A DECISION WHICH WOULD TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE REST OF THE WORLD AND WHICH WOULD NOT BE BASED ON THE PERSONAL AMBITIONS OF EC MEMBERS.

40. HE THEN ASKED EACH OF THE OTHER EC MEMBERS FOR CLOSING COMMENTS. MUZOREWA STRESSED THE DANGER OF CIVIL WAR BETWEEN ZAPU AND ZANU. CHIRAU EMPHASIZED THAT THE EC WAS NOW THE GOVERNMENT OF "THIS COUNTRY." (THROUGHOUT THE CONVERSATIONS THE AFRICAN MEMBERS OF THE EC TENDED TO USE THE TERM "THIS COUNTRY" RATHER THAN RHODESIA OR ZIMBABWE.) SITHOLE SUMMARIZED HIS

ARGUMENTS ONCE AGAIN, NOTING THAT THE EC AND THE US/UK BELONG TO THE SAME COMMUNITY OF IDEAS AND OF PRINCIPLES.

41. AFTER THE CONCLUDING STATEMENTS HAD BEEN MADE VAN DER BYL RETURNED TO AN ISSUE RAISED EARLIER BY CHIKEREMA. HE ASKED THAT, IF IT WERE POSSIBLE TO ORGANIZE A SIMPLE REFERENDUM WITH A YES OR NO VOTE ON THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT, AND IF THIS CARRIED BY A MAJORITY, WOULD THE UK/US ACCEPT THE DECISION OF THE RHODESIAN PEOPLE. VANCE NOTED THAT HE WOULD HAVE TO REFLECT ON THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE REFERENDUM. OWEN SAID THAT HE HAD PREVIOUSLY MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE QUESTION OF CONSTITUTIONAL LEGALITY COULD ONLY BE CONSIDERED WHEN A TRUE TRANSFER OF POWER CAME ABOUT THROUGH FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS. THE EARLIER
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A TRANSFER OF POWER COULD HAPPEN, THE BETTER.

42. DAVID SMITH SUGGESTED THAT THE PARTY AGREE ON A JOINT PRESS STATEMENT. IT WAS DECIDED, HOWEVER, THAT THIS WAS NOT NECESSARY, AND THAT THE TWO SIDES WOULD CHARACTERIZE THE MEETING AS A SERIOUS ONE IN WHICH THE US/UK HAD PRESENTED THE IDEA OF A ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE, TO WHICH THE EC HAD PROMISED TO GIVE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION. VANCE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 26 sep 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, MEETING REPORTS, EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, MINISTERIAL MEETINGS, NATIONALISTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 25 apr 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE104822
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: AF/S-JDAVIDOW:LFS
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 XGDS-1
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: D780176-0339
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t197804109/baaafcnf.tel
Line Count: 595
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 123abda6-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN AF
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 11
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 07 mar 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2830643
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: RHODESIA: OWEN/VANCE SALISBURY MEETING WITH THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL APRIL 17
TAGS: PDEV, RH, UK, US, (VANCE, CYRUS R), (SMITH, IAN), (OWEN, DAVID)
To: LAGOS LUSAKA MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/123abda6-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014